1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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101 because they have among them no such remnants of perishing tribes, appear
to know nothing of this fivefold group, but they recognize their close rela-
648 tionship to the Arapaho. There is no very great amount of intercourse between them and the Arapaho at present, nor does there appear to have been any unusual amount of communication during the greater part of the nineteenth century; but on both sides there is a mutual recognition as of separated relatives. The Arapaho are now and apparently have been for a long time considerably the larger tribe, the Gros Ventre having always in
[161] historical times been regarded as a small body. Their present number is about 550.

According to Hayden, the Gros Ventre, about 1800, were south of the
131 Saskatchewan; about 1820 they united with the Arapaho for a few years,
648 and then, following a quarrel, journeyed north, had a disastrous encounter with the Crow, and became neighbors and allies of the Blackfeet.[1] In spite of the usually close association of the Gros Ventre with the three Blackfoot tribes since that time, they became hostile to them for a time, about forty years ago, and united against them with their own long-standing enemies the Crow. In the course of this hostility the Gros Ventre sustained their heaviest reverse in war within their memory; the greater part of an unusually large war-party, including many Crow, being killed after an attack on a Piegan camp. This happened in 1867, according to Grinnell. The usual enemies of the Gros Ventre, besides the Crow, were other Siouan tribes, such as the Dakota and especially the Assiniboine. They also fought more or less with the Shoshone, and no doubt in alliance with the Blackfeet against the Salish Flathead. They were on the whole friendly with the tribes of their own stock of speech, the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Blackfeet, and Cree. The habitat of the Gros Ventre in recent times has been the Milk River territory, in which is situated their present reservation, which they occupy jointly with the Assiniboine.

The Gros Ventre have also been called Fall, Rapid, and Paunch Indians.
101 The term "Gros Ventre" has also been applied to the Minitari, a Siouan village tribe on the Missouri; and the two tribes have been distinguished as "Gros Ventre of the Prairie" and "Gros Ventre of the Missouri."

174 Gros Ventre tradition brings the tribe from the north; but their story of
131 the division of the tribe while crossing the ice on a great river is found also
[173] among the Blackfeet and the Cheyenne, and is worthless as historical evidence. While their earliest habitat known is north of their present territory, acquaintance of them goes back little more than a century, and there is

[1] See the excellent article by H. L. Scott on The Early History and the Names of the Arapaho, in the American Anthropologist, N.S., IX, 545, 1907. From this it appears that, at least from the middle of the eighteenth century on, except for about five years' association with the Arapaho (from 1818 to 1823), the habitat of the Gros Ventre was in the Blackfoot country, between the Saskatchewan and the Missouri.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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nothing to show that they had long been in the Saskatchewan region. All that is certain of their previous past is their closer relationship to the Arapaho than to any other tribe; and the origin of the Arapaho is equally obscure, except that it is certain that, if they came from the north and east, it was a long time ago. Of the Gros Ventre it can only be said that, while related to the Arapaho and regarded by them as almost politically a part of themselves, they were far separated from them when first known, with them for a short time later, and again separated, and in contact and alliance with another much more distantly related Algonkin branch. Their habitat in a hundred years has been successively near the Saskatchewan, the Platte, and the Missouri. There is nothing to show that such variability of affiliation and location within the culture region of the Plains has not been characteristic of their previous history.

The Gros Ventre call the tribes near them by the following names: Arapaho, hinan'an (in Arapaho, hinanaci-na"); Cheyenne, itison, "scars" (itiso", "a scar;" Arapaho name of the Cheyenne, hitaciina"); Cree, na"tsa", "rabbits;" Ojibwa, djinhuna"tsa", "Lower Cree;" the three Blackfoot tribes, waotä"nixtäats, "black-feet" (a Blackfoot, waota"nixtänin, "blackfoot-man;" a Piegan, tsä"t'; the Bloods, ka"winahaa"); Assiniboine, na"djinethin; Sioux, na"wina"djinci, "Below-Assiniboine" (in Arapaho, na"tinci, "a Sioux"); Crow, hounen, "crow-men;" Minitari, wuxnokayan, "—lodges;" Shoshone, sosouyänin, "snake-men;" Bannock, waotä"nixiinin, "black-men" (in Arapaho the Ute are called wootänähiçi, "black"); Flathead Salish, kaakaäänin, "flathead-man;" Nezpercé, taniibats, "pierced-nose" (Arapaho taniibaäçi is the Caddo). Two tribes to the southwest or perhaps west, which have not been identified, are the wasoi"hiiyeihits, "grass-dwellers," who live in houses of grass or brush; and the na"wuxaantibiina"ts, "fish-eaters."

The Gros Ventre were divided into groups similar to those of the Blackfeet and Sioux. The names of these bands were nicknames, and in no way totemic. As there was prohibition of marriage within the band, the name "clan" is, however, applicable to them. Descent was paternal and a man belonged to his father's band; but the prohibition of marriage extended also to his mother's clan, all the members of both the father's and mother's clan being considered relatives. Each band seems to have had a recognized head or chief. During the winter the tribe broke into smaller groups, consisting of one or perhaps more clans, which followed the buffalo, and camped chiefly in the timber. There corrals were made for the horses at night to prevent their being stolen by war-parties. When summer came, the clans joined and camped together in the large camp-circle. In this, the opening of which was toward the east, the different bands had definite

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Location in the Eighteenth Century

The earliest available sources show that in the eighteenth century the Gros Ventres were in the Canadian plains region, far removed from their Arapaho kinsmen. Just where or when the Gros Ventres and Arapaho parted cannot be determined. As Kroeber has pointed out, their tradition of separating while crossing a large frozen body of water on which the ice broke, is not reliable, especially in view of similar traditions of tribal separations current among other peoples.[1] It is possible that there may be some truth in the tradition which Father De Smet had from the Gros Ventres in 1846, namely, that they had become separated from the Arapaho a hundred and fifty years before that date.[2] This would allow, however, only the bare minimum of time which Kroeber has suggested as necessary to account for the linguistic differentiation between Arapaho and Gros Ventre. It would seem a little late also should Morton be correct in identifying as Gros Ventres the tribe, in the region of the Saskatchewan River to the west of the Assiniboine, whom Kelsey mentions in 1691.[3]

The difficulty of exactly locating the Gros Ventres during the first half of the eighteenth century is all the greater in view of the fact that the observers often used general terms, rather than tribal designations, for the plains peoples as distinct from the Cree and Assiniboine. Among such terms are "equestrian natives," "slaves," and various renditions of the Cree word *ayatchiyiniw*,[4] literally "foreign man, stranger"—the generic Cree term by which all hostile peoples are called. The Cree were closely as-

[1] Kroeber, 1908, p. 146.

[2] De Smet, p. 265, note.

[3] Kroeber, 1908, p. 145; Morton, p. 113; Kelsey Papers, p. 16, mentions a nation who "knew not ye use of Canoes and were resolved to go to wars."

[4] Cf. LaCombe, p. 325.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

101 sociated with the western expansion of the fur trade by both the
174 English and the French, being dependent upon white goods and acting as middlemen and interpreters. Consequently Cree words were used often by the traders. Mandelbaum explains, in regard to the generic term, that, since the Blackfoot in particular were the enemy tribe, this term came to be especially applied to them.[6] Nevertheless to interpret it as always and exclusively referring to the Blackfoot is misleading.

175 Isham, writing in 1743, after having been for a decade on the west coast of Hudson's Bay, used the generic term in a widely inclusive sense. He was anxious to get the "Earchthinue" to come to the English forts on the Bay to trade. He had never seen any of them except "a Slave, which was brought down by the Southwd. Indians,—their country lies on the back of this Land and to the Westward of the Churchill River where the Spaniards frequent those seas, at the same time does not traffick with that nation,—I have heard from the mouth of the said Slave concerning that country, by which I understood it was situated much as York Fort Hays's River with a fine Navigable River that op'ns into the sea, and with great plenty of the best and finest fur's, which is their Chiefest Commodity's. The Sinnepoets and other Indians Going to war with them, is a hinderance to their Coming to to the English Settlements to trade. . . ."[6] It was presumably from this Indian that Isham recorded two different ways to count ten. One such list he designated as being the "Earchithinu Language," and the other as "Earchethinue Language in another part of the Country."[7] The first can be identified as Blackfoot, in the general sense of the term,[8] but the second is apparently neither Blackfoot nor Gros Ventre.

Le Gardeur de Saint Pierre, successor of La Verendrye and the last of those who tried to find "the way to the sea" for the French, rendered the generic Cree term as "Iactchejlini" but in addition mentions the Gros Ventres by name. He spent the winter of 1751

[6] Mandelbaum, p. 166.
[6] Isham, p. 113.
[7] Idem, p. 35 and p. 36.
[8] Identification by my colleague, Prof. James A. Geary, personal communication, September 17, 1949.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

175 648 Crow were in the vicinity, camped at a place through which the first contingent of Crow had already passed. Four young men from the second division of Crow were attempting to catch up with the first when they came across the Gros Ventres camp, thinking they had reached their goal. The Gros Ventres seized and killed three of these young men, but the fourth escaped to warn his people, who laid in ambush at a narrow pass through which the Gros Ventres would go. Taking the Gros Ventres by surprise, they completely demoralized them, killing 67 and capturing twice that many women and children. The remainder fled and reached safety with the Blackfoot, leaving the wounded where they lay.

Readjustment (1830–1870)

●174 That the whole Gros Ventres tribe could have gone south to the Arapaho, remained a few years, and suffered such disasters in 1832, is highly improbable. First of all, it is unlikely that if the whole tribe disappeared from their usual habitat they would have been able to regain their territory from encroachments by Assiniboine from the east and northeast, by Crow from the south, and by Piegan and Blackfoot from the west and northwest. Furthermore it is equally unlikely that such absence would have been unnoted by Catlin who in 1832, at the American Fur Company Post at the mouth of the Yellowstone, gives a reasonable estimate of the Gros Ventre population (430 lodges) and notes the common error of traders in counting that tribe indiscriminately with the Blackfoot groups, in spite of the difference between the Blackfoot and Gros Ventre language.[51] Moreover, according to Maximilian, Mitchell of the American Fur Company affirmed in 1833 that he had always done business with the Gros Ventres with pleasure, and had never had any proof of the treachery imputed to them. Had there been no Gros Ventres around for five years, Mitchell would no doubt have mentioned that fact. The entire feeling of Maximilian's account is that the Gros Ventres were well known to American Fur Company traders—as compared to some Blackfoot proper, who arrived at the fort and were unknown.[52]

[161]

Finally, native tradition gives some negative evidence. Our

[51] Catlin, v. 1, pp. 59–60.
[52] Maximilian, pp. 73, 154.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

older informants at the present time belong to the bands known as the Frozens, the Tendons, and the Upper Quarters. If the entire tribe had gone on such a visit to the Arapaho, it is almost certain that some tradition of this travel would have been passed on, as it would have occurred in the lifetime of Coming Daylight's grandmother and of The Boy's father, from both of whom these informants had much reliable material. It thus seems more likely that several bands—perhaps in population amounting to as much as half the total tribe—went on the expedition together. It was customary for the Gros Ventres to split into smaller groups and for several bands to winter together. It would seem probable that one or two such smaller groups pillaged the Hudson's Bay Company post in the late 1820's, wintered together on the upper Missouri, and then traveled south to the Arapaho.

While part of the Gros Ventres tribe was with the Arapaho, the remainder,—roaming the strip of plains between the Blackfoot groups on the west, the Assiniboine on the east, and the Crow on the south,—managed to improve their situation somewhat. Although the whole tribe was probably reunited by 1833, when Maximilian gives us an account of his meeting with them, they were fairly prosperous in spite of the losses sustained by those who had fought at Pierre's Hole and had then been ambushed by the Crow. Maximilian states specifically that " these Indians were formerly very poor, had bad tents and could not buy firearms; they have, however, recovered of late and supplied their wants." [68] One of our informants told us that she had heard often, when she was a child, that in her grandmother's young days,—which we estimate as the early years of the 19th century—the Gros Ventres were very badly off and had so few horses that they used dog transport almost exclusively, but that the situation gradually improved, and, by the time our informant was born (ca. 1855), they again had many horses, a sign of prosperity. From Maximilian's description and from Bradley's estimate of the situation in the early 1830's, it would seem that there was no dearth of either horses or firearms among the Gros Ventres at that time. Maximilian states, however, that they showed the effect of their encounters with the Crow by a noticeable disproportion of the sexes, and that

[68] Maximilian, p. 75.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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reward and punishment for such human behavior exclusively or almost exclusively in this life. At death the souls of all except murderers went to the same spirit habitat, not to the Supreme Being.[13]

The extensive cultural and ethico-social activities of man towards the Supreme Being will form the subject of succeeding chapters. We may merely state here that the Supreme Being easily held the first place in cult, as compared with other beings, and that he bulked large in the Gros Ventre ethico-social conscience.

That the foregoing concept of the Supreme Being was aboriginal with the Gros Ventres and not the result of borrowing from white sources seems clear beyond reasonable doubt from both the external and internal evidence.

First the external evidence. While the Gros Ventres have been known in our literature since 1751, their contacts with the whites before the middle of the last century were relatively slight. They met traders and trappers and an occasional intermarriage with whites occurred, but active missionary work among the Gros Ventres did not begin until 1884.[14]

Of about twenty different informants from whom we gathered our account of the Gros Ventre Supreme Being concept, most were older people, men and women, between the ages of 60 and 90 (in 1938-40) and all of them were positive, from their own memory of pre-missionary days and/or from what they had always heard from their parents or grandparents or other elders, that the belief was part of ancient native tradition and not one derived from the whites or from missionaries. For instance, Bull Head, about 80 years old in 1940, then the oldest living Gros Ventre man, stated that he had known about the Supreme Being as far back as he could remember. Coming Daylight, then about 85, and of

[13] The older name for the abode of the dead was tsɔtci:tăn (etymology unknown to informants) but described as "toward the sunset." The more common name was ba:snabe (big sand) which was described as a place "to the north." The Milky Way was called Ghost Trail according to another tradition. No non-human supernatural being was conceived of as in charge of the future abode or as rewarder or punisher of the dead for earthly deeds.

[14] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 23.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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keen intelligence and memory, stated the same, adding that her old grandmother was also familiar with the name of Ixtciboni:hohat for him. Furthermore the names for the Supreme Being as believed in by the Gros Ventres are commonly used for him among the Arapaho. Finally, the Gros Ventre concept itself of the Supreme Being tallies well in its main elements with the concept that is of universal or almost universal occurrence among the Algonquian-speaking peoples, to whom the Gros Ventres belong linguistically and, in spite of their dominantly Plains culture, in not a few important respects culturally as well.

The internal evidence corroborates the external. The whole Gros Ventre complex is quite lacking in distinctive Christian elements,—such as prayer to the Supreme Being for forgiveness, reward and punishment by him in the future life, going to the Supreme Being after death, the Trinity, a supreme evil spirit, and so forth,—elements which would be emphasized in most evangelization by Catholic missionaries. On the contrary, the complex has a distinctly aboriginal coloring. Mastery, including mastery of life, is to the fore, with making or creating hazy or in the background. The Supreme Being's names, apart from that of Father, seem clearly native, not white. It is certainly most unlikely that missionaries would have invented a term such as Ixtciboni:hohat by compounding the name of the trickster, whose vulgar and obscene escapades were matters of such common knowledge.

Finally, the Supreme Being concept is tied intimately into the whole ritual of the Gros Ventre, a ritual which itself is obviously aboriginal, with only the faintest traces, if any, of Christian infiltration.

Other Cult Beings

Next to the Supreme Being, the supernatural being most frequently mentioned by our informants was Bha'a,[13] the storm ruler or the thunderbird. He was also called, less commonly: etcitane:

[13] Informants insisted on the aspiration in the name of the thunderbird, bha'a. Without aspiration the term ba'a means "it is red," and the term ba'ats, means "blood."

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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Keeper of the Feathered Pipe

The terms for the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child of the Feathered Pipe were the same as those for the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child of the Flat Pipe.

Apparently the same high qualifications were required in the keeper of the Feathered as in the keeper of the Flat Pipe. Those specifically recorded by us were: "he had to be some good man and wealthy and noted"; "he had to be a man of intelligence to learn and know the rites and traditions and to maintain the dignity of the ceremonial." In actuality, not all keepers measured up to these lofty standards, as some of our informants emphasized, with ample supporting evidence.

As with the Flat Pipe, succession to the keepership could be either appointive or elective or else volunteer. According to the origin story of the Feathered Pipe, the man to whom the Pipe was first given, appointed, apparently on his sole authority, his uncle as keeper and turned over the Pipe to him.

The recent history of the Feathered Pipe for about the last 100 years can be pieced together from data furnished by Garter Snake, Al Chandler, The Boy, and Thick.

Iron Necklace was keeper somewhere around 1850.[1] He was succeeded by Big Beaver. Bull Lodge succeeded Big Beaver, his sister's husband as keeper. Garter Snake, daughter of Bull Lodge, became Pipe child at the age of six or seven. Bull Lodge had wanted to keep the Pipe until his son, Otter Robe, came of age and then to transfer it to him. But in 1879 or 1880 Bull Lodge was asked for it, asked four times for the Pipe by Sitting High, so he had to give in and transfer it to the latter. Sitting High held the keepership a long time, in fact until his death in 1905. This break with the traditional rule of a maximum 12 years is probably accounted for by the cultural disintegration which set in after the disappearance of the buffalo. As Garter Snake expressed it: "The new life had come in and there was no one to transfer the Pipe to." Little Man, Al Chandler's adoptive father, was Sitting High's son, and Al lived as a boy with Sitting High in the

[1] The Boy in 1948 told a long story about his grandfather, Crow Moccasin, who was keeper of the Feathered Pipe probably around 1830-1840. [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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793 latter's lodge where the Feathered Pipe was kept. When Sitting
● 174 High died in 1908, at the age of 92, his only surviving widow, Kills in the Night, moved over with the Pipe to her uncle, old Sleeping Bear, who took charge of the Pipe. In 1910 Sleeping Bear gave the Pipe to Curly Head, the last keeper of it, who kept it until his death in 1937 (or 1938).

About 1930, during Curly Head's keepership, a certain young Gros Ventre, a cowboy (son of Bradley), had to pass through Curly Head's place at Lodge Pole. Curly Head gave him something to eat. The young man was looking at the Feathered Pipe bundle and noted that the wrapping of Hudson's Bay Company cloth was old. "That wrapping is old," he said, "I'll buy another for you." "All right," said Curly Head, "I am glad. We will discard the old wrapping."

The young fellow forgot all about the matter until the following summer, when in a dream someone said to him: "When are you going to buy that new wrapping for the Feathered Pipe?" This happened far from here. The young man was worried and made a special trip back to Curly Head, told him about his dream, and asked: "What shall I do?" "You better buy the wrapping you promised," said Curly Head. "This Pipe is no ordinary thing. Even though you were perhaps not serious when you made the promise, you better be on the safe side." "Where can I buy this kind of cloth?" he asked. "At Browning," said Curly Head, "You better go there or else send for it." "I will," said the young man.
[165] The latter went away, and shortly after, while herding sheep, he was killed by lightning. And the Gros Ventres wonder today (1939) if this young man's death was a punishment for his failure to keep his promise.

Before his death Curly Head, knowing that his health was failing, came to Garter Snake and said: "Sister, you will be surprised some day. I'll keel over and quit. You were raised with the Feathered Pipe. Keep it as a keepsake." "I am blind," she said, "I cannot see. How can I take care of it? You better leave it in care of some one else." "All right," said Curly Head, "I'll leave it with Iron Man. But you see that it is not disposed of in any way. This Pipe has to remain with the Gros Ventres forever. Remember that the Feathered Pipe is the main hope of the Gros Ventres,

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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and as long as you live see that they do not sell it or part with it."

So at Curly Head's death the Pipe fell to Iron Man II (Tall Jack), a relative of Curly Head, who since 1937 (1938) has looked after it. In 1948 it was still being kept in Curly Head's house.[1]

The normal term of keepership of the Feathered Pipe was four years. The very first keeper held the office 80 years, according to the origin story given by Garter Snake, and some later ones, according to tradition, up to 20 years, but the usual limit was supposed to be at most two or three terms, that is eight or twelve years.

There was always a Pipe woman or co-keeper, wife of the keeper. She handled the Pipe bundle and in general had about the same ritual and other duties toward it as had the co-keeper of the Flat Pipe toward the Flat Pipe bundle. The Feathered Pipe keeper had to have at least two wives, for during her menses the co-keeper could not handle the bundle and had to sleep and live outside the keeper's lodge and another wife of the keeper had to substitute for her in the handling and care of the bundle.

There was always, too, a Pipe child,—a girl, unless the keeper had no daughters, in which case a son could be selected by him as Pipe child. Thus the oldest son of Sitting High, who had no daughters, became Pipe child. The Pipe child was not necessarily appointed at once by the keeper on assuming the keepership. Garter Snake was not made Pipe child until she was about six years old. Iron Necklace who had been Feathered Pipe keeper some

[1] In the summer of 1951, Iron Man, assisted by The Boy, had a ceremonial opening of the Feathered Pipe bundle. Dr. Louis B. Hagener, Professor of Biology of Northern Montana College, accompanied by his wife, and Dr. Otto Nitz, Professor of Chemistry, now at Stout Institute of Technology, Menominie, Wisconsin, were among the spectators. The pictures in Plates 2 B-C, 3 A-D, were taken by Dr. Nitz at that time. Dr. Hagener has kindly supplied information regarding the 1951 ceremonial. He writes under date of Aug. 8, 1954, as to final disposal of the Feathered Pipe bundle: "Since the young people were so apathetic over the bundle, its significance, and the ceremony, Iron Man and his wife had resolved not to open it again. They were debating as to whether it should be given to a museum or whether the tribe would outfit Iron Man and his wife for a journey and permit them to dispose of it somewhere in the mountains." [R.F.]

Iruska.[5] In its diffusion it reached the Assiniboine from the Sioux, —Rodnick places the date at 1872,[6]—and the Assiniboine in turn passed it on to the Gros Ventres, sometime between the years 1875 and 1880. We arrive at this approximate dating by reckoning the age of a now venerable old Gros Ventre woman informant who witnessed the actual transfer when she herself was in her later twenties or possibly early thirties. From all the evidence at our command it is fairly certain that she was born between 1850 and 1855. This informant not only was an eye-witness of the adoption of the ceremony by the Gros Ventres but also participated actively, so far as a woman could, in both the earlier and later phases of the dance. Before giving details of the regalia, personnel, and procedures it might be well to insert at this point her account of the actual transfer.

"The Gros Ventres were camped on the Milk River. They were joined there by the Assiniboine and the two tribes remained together while the Assiniboine taught the Gros Ventres the Grass dance. The Gros Ventres had never had any dancing of that kind before and called it jokingly *inaetenin* (moving-buttocks) referring to the way they danced. The Assiniboine gave crow-belts (feather bustles) to each of two men, and likewise swords to two others. They needed one man as spear (fork) man and two as *atsa'an* (waiters, servants). They also gave the Gros Ventres a big drum and everything that goes with the dance. The visitors showed the different individuals how to use these various things and taught the songs and dances that went with each. But they didn't do all that for nothing! Of all the things they had to give away to the Assiniboine! Even food was included in the exchange. The Gros Ventres had an enormous quantity of food prepared and you should have seen the number of puppies we cooked. The Assiniboine surely liked those pups. That was the first Grass dance we ever had.

"Then we moved camp from the Milk River over toward the

[5] Wissler, loc. cit., cf. table opp. p. 868.

[6] Rodnick, David, The Fort Belknap Assiniboine of Montana, A study in culture change, New Haven, Conn., 1938, pp. 123–24.

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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796 Bear Paw Mountains. It was there that the Gros Ventres had their first Grass dance alone. I don't know why they did things like this, but all those who had been given regalia walked instead of riding horseback. But the drum was packed on a special horse by itself and when they came to a stream, four men who owned the drumsticks carried the drum across, wading in without taking off their moccasins or other clothing. Furthermore those who owned the regalia were not supposed to help feed the crowd. They were not allowed to serve food and if they did, they had to give something away. Nor were these men supposed to borrow. They were supposed to have their own cup or dish and when it
[115] was time to eat, if they didn't have any receptacle, they spread out their robes and the servers poured the coffee or soup or whatever was being served right in the robes."

114 The above account is the only explicit record of the actual
174 transfer which was obtainable in the field. From details supplied
796 by this same informant, however, as well as by others not so old as she, but who have accurate traditional knowledge of Gros Ventre culture, we have considerable information on the Grass dance as practiced from the time it was adopted.[7] Let us proceed then to the general description, first as the dance was carried out in the earlier period.

575 *Personnel and equipment.* At the time of adoption the Grass
796 dance came into the possession of a society, the Wolves or Wolfmen. Only members of the society actually danced, wearing the distinctive headdress of deer hair, although the rest of their costume varied with the individual. The special regalia which went with the dance were: 2 crow-belts; a large drum and 4 fancy drumsticks; a spear or fork; a spoon; 2 wands representing swords; a whistle.[8] Each item was owned by an individual member of the society who was, by virtue of this ownership, an officer

[115] [7] I wish to thank all of my Gros Ventre friends for their assistance, especially The Boy, Thick, Thomas Main, Charles Buckman, Al and Cora Chandler, Mary Ereaux, Mathilda Cuts-the-Rope, but above all, my old "grandmothers," Coming Daylight and Singer.

[8] For reference to description of some of these, see footnote 3.